



QUAKERISM IN JAPAN

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*A brief account of the origins and development of the
Religious Society of Friends in Japan*

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THE FRIENDS WORLD COMMITTEE FOR CONSULTATION is publishing a series of short studies of the development of Quakerism in various countries in the hope that they will help Friends of different nations, cultures and outlook to know and understand one another.

QUAKERISM IN JAPAN is the second of these pamphlets to be published; it was made possible by the return to this country of Edith F. Sharpless, who served as a missionary in Japan from 1910 to 1943.

In the future the Committee hopes to publish records of the life of Quakerism in India, China, Germany, Canada, the U. S. A., and other countries. We trust that these publications will show ways in which national groups have adapted the Quaker testimonies to their varied cultures and backgrounds and will also reveal the unique contribution each group is making to the Quaker movement throughout the world.

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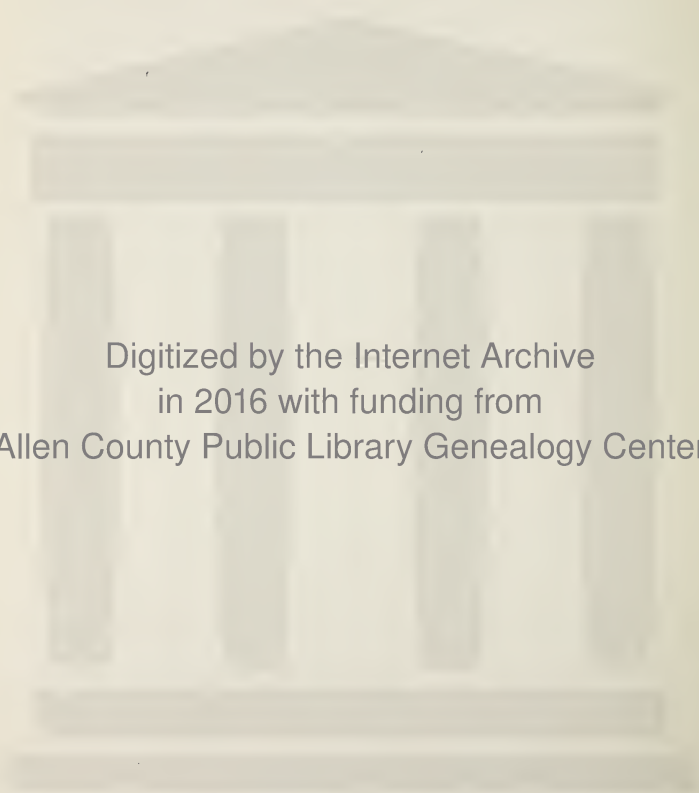
Foreword

The writer has taken great pleasure in living again with Japan Yearly Meeting, as she has prepared the manuscript for this little book. And yet she knows that by every consideration it should have been prepared by a national of that country. She has tried to look at the whole subject with as Japanese eyes as she could, but if in places some American viewpoints have peeped through, she hopes they will be forgiven. At least she can say that her main source has been Japanese,—Seiju Hirakawa's book, entitled "Fifty Years of Quakerism in Japan." Since there was no recourse to other sources than those to be found in this country, it has been impossible to verify certain statements, and mistakes may thus have crept in.

The work in Japan has been an instance of international coöperation. The Mission Boards of Philadelphia and of Canada Friends have been permitted to extend a hand in an especial way, but others from across the seas have given support to Quakerism in Japan. God grant that the days may soon come when we can again join hands in enterprises for a spiritual Kingdom.

E. F. S.

Haverford, Pa.
6-8-1944.



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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On June 28th, 1885, a small group of devoted women Friends were holding a parlor meeting in the city of Philadelphia. They had been moved by the newly awakened evangelistic fervor of the times, and were deeply concerned to share their joy and satisfaction in the new life with their "sisters"⁽¹⁾ in non-Christian lands. They had been meeting under this concern for some three years but as yet had not found just the direction they sought for their endeavors. In this June meeting, two young men "of education"⁽¹⁾ from Japan, met with them and encouraged them to believe that the door was open in their country for such religious teaching as that of Friends. These two youths, in America at that time for study, became in later years, each in his own way, men of very great significance to the Christian movement in their country. Their names were Inazo Nitobe and Kanzo Uchimura. It was they who first definitely linked together the names of Friends and the Japanese. In the fall of the same year the first emissaries of the Womens Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia, Joseph and Sarah Ann Cosand, started across the Pacific.

But before we dip into their experiences we must know something of the Japan which they were to find on arrival. It was only thirty years since it had grudgingly let down the bars for the life of the world to enter. For well over two hundred years before that, the policy of its rulers had been one of absolute exclusion of Western influences, based on fear of Western aggression. A few Dutch traders only were suffered to linger on under rather humiliating conditions in Nagasaki, but otherwise life in Japan had been an introverted one. The cultural gifts previously received from China were polished and perfected, but without new material to work on, the spirit of man becomes stale. Society was static, and it was the delib-

⁽¹⁾ Third Annual Report of the Womens Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia, 1886.

erate policy of the military shoguns who ruled, to make it so. Members of the Tokugawa family had held that position since 1603, and kept a firm hand on their feudatories, many of whom were strong enough to make trouble, if given an opportunity. In the society of that time there were knights, the Samurai class who fought for their overlord, and were fed by him; farmers who held their land in fief from the knights, and raised rice for the whole nation; and merchants who were almost out of the picture. The pattern of life was surprisingly like that of Europe in Feudal times.

Although the organization of society was essentially a military one, and the law, martial law, yet the strong rule of the shogun at its center insured long years of enforced peace, and the result was effeminacy among the fighting class. In the felt need for new stimulus, and in curiosity about the West, coupled with the decay of military strength, the stage was set for Perry when he came in 1853, representing the government of the United States.

The unilateral character of the treaties that were signed at that time, entered deeply into the consciousness of the Japanese nation. The whole force of the people was directed to a self-discipline, that would make them able to meet the West on its own plane and to deal with it on the level. Hence there followed two decades of intense and deliberate Europeanization.

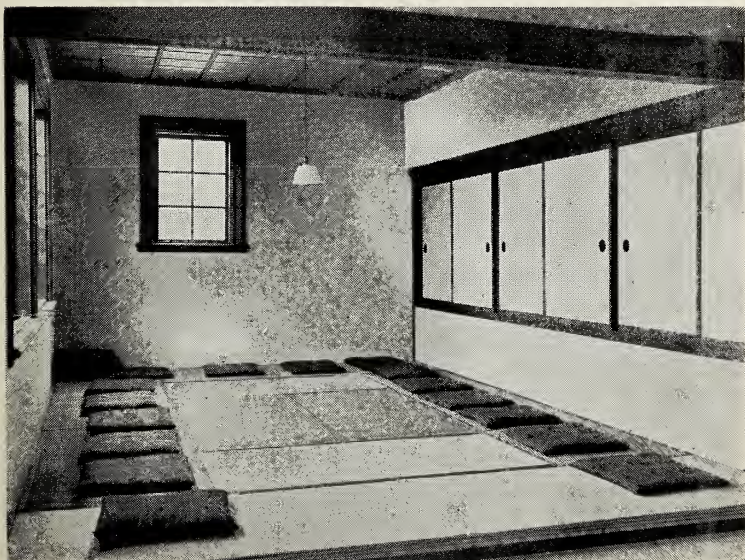
Changes followed each other rapidly. In 1868 the Shogun resigned, and the Emperor whose functions had been purely ceremonial, was now restored to the center of the picture. The oath that he took at the beginning of this era was democratic in outlook. The next year feudalism was abolished, and a parliamentary system was later inaugurated. The capital was moved from Kyoto to Tokyo,⁽²⁾ to symbolize a new policy. A public school system was set up in 1872. Science and

(2) Called "Yedo" at that time.

Western learning were encouraged, and all old usages and policies were reëxamined. Japan intended to keep abreast of the nations of the modern world. And with it all, as Dr. Anesaki says, there was a sense of exhilaration like that after a thunder storm.

There is no doubt that this movement was carried to an extreme. Young men came almost to idolize those who could give them this "new knowledge". The study of English or "horizontal writing" as it was called, became the rage, and the ways of the West were thought of as almost equivalent to civilization.

As a dynamic force in Western life, Christianity also came in for its share of popularity, and its missionaries were given a ready hearing. It had been forbidden under pain of



A COMMITTEE ROOM IN THE HIJIRIZAKA MEETING HOUSE

death until 1873 but in the new treaties signed with foreign powers, it was expressly allowed. That stream of Christian influence with which our story is concerned, began in Yokohama under the teaching of American missionaries. Having once obtained a foothold there it spread like wild fire to other parts of Japan. Statistics of those years tell us that in 1878 there were 44 churches and 1617 believers; in 1885 168 churches and 11,000 believers. There were even some who said that Japan would be Christianized within ten years.

This reception of their message must have been very heartening to the missionaries, but looking at it from later times, we know that it was not altogether healthy. Reaction had to come, and then those who had joined from political or social motives fell away.

The Problem Faced by Quaker Missionaries

The Christian movement was at the crest of the wave when the Cosands landed in Japan. It was a recognized force in the life of the capital. The New Testament had been translated five years previously; Christian schools had been started, foremost among which was the Doshisha in Kyoto, recognized as a university in 1884. And now Quakerism had come to seek roothold in the soil of Japan. It was a necessarily different procedure from that by which it got its start in European centers. There the soil had been prepared by centuries of Christian thought and life, and growth was a natural result of juxtaposition. As Howard Brinton has said, "Quaker missionaries in Japan face a peculiarly difficult problem. Beginners in the faith must be sought and taught through a teaching ministry largely confined to the historical and ethical basis of Christianity. To get beyond this introductory stage to the establishment of conditions in which a transforming experience of the Quaker type can be attained, is by no means easy". ***** "After the World War when our service work in war-stricken areas developed finally into the establishment

of Quaker embassies in a number of European cities, a procedure more congenial to our essential doctrines, ***** something peculiarly our own, suited to the genius of our Society, was developed".⁽¹⁾

Difficult it was, and in some sense uncongenial to Quakerism, but no other way has yet been devised for "the publishing of truth" under such circumstances, except this beginning from the ground up. With the religious background which Quakerism found in Japan, there was nothing for it but to confront the ideas and the faith established there with those which it believed were of more eternal value. Time would be the judge.

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

In a short study of this kind, there is not time to analyze the soil of the religious world of Japan, in the eighties of the Nineteenth Century. But some understanding of it is necessary before we can go on with our story. Over against the Quaker emphasis on the value of the individual, and his privilege and obligation of finding guidance for himself from an inward Monitor, comes Confucian teaching with its emphasis on obedience and loyalty to one's superior,—the vassal to his lord, the wife to her husband, etc. Shinto which stood in the highest place among the Japanese religious systems at that time, emphasized the exaltation of the theocratic state above the individuals who composed it. Buddhism was to get fresh life later on, partly at least through the impact of Christianity upon it, but at this time it seems to have "collapsed", to use Sir George Sansom's word. Confucian scholars had more influence with thinking people than Buddhist priests, although Buddhist observances had become the habits of everyday life among the common people. In any case the *popular* manifestation of Buddhism was a mass of superstition and materialism.

⁽¹⁾ The Friend (Philadelphia) 9th Month 10, 1936.

It is true that certain resemblances are often traced between the philosophical thought of the Zen Sect of Buddhism and that of Quakerism. Both are religions of experience. Both seek an inner transformation through silent and expectant waiting. But while the Quaker sees as his objective, a personality which is the Father God as revealed by Jesus Christ, the Zennist conception is extremely vague. He looks forward to a kind of Cosmic Ego of which he is a part, as are the waves a part of the ocean into which they sink and are lost. The meditation of the Zennist is directed by a teacher who gives him subjects on which to meditate, and to whom he must report later; that of the Quaker like "the wind which bloweth where it listeth", is directed by the Spirit of God within him. Noble as are some of the philosophic conceptions of Buddhism, yet it seems obvious that much effort would be required to prepare such soil to receive Quaker roots.

There was another element in the religious soil of Japan, that had its influence on the situation. The Nineteenth Century brand of Christianity was not the first to reach Japan. In 1549 Francis Xavier had landed at the southernmost point of the island of Kyushu, and after a stay of slightly over two years, left with an amazing record of success, as judged numerically. Other priests from other orders continued the work begun by Xavier, and by 1605 there were estimated to be 750,000 converts or 4% of the whole population. Perhaps its very success was its undoing. At any rate the rulers of Japan came to fear it as an advance agent of European powers with aggressive designs against Japan, and a period of terrible persecution followed, which came to an end in 1637 with the capture of Hara Castle, where the remaining Christians had intrenched themselves. It was believed at the time that they had been exterminated, but twenty-five years before the arrival of the Quaker emissaries in Yokohama, communities of these Catholic Christians were found, who had kept alive their faith and practice through two centuries without being discovered

by the authorities. This highly dramatic episode in Japanese history influenced our story in at least two ways. One was that the Christian faith had come to be associated with foreign aggression,—how justly can not now be known. The other was the creation of a sense of pride, not altogether limited to Christian people in Japan, at the extraordinary steadfastness and heroism with which these people had held on to their ideals and their faith, in the face of devastating persecution. Even today, I think, the thought of it gives the Christian Church in Japan confidence in the national character.

Quaker Beginnings

There are many localities in Tokyo today, where we might almost fancy ourselves in New York, or in some other modern city, but it was not so when Joseph and Sarah Cosand walked down the gang plank to terra firma in Yokohama, and climbed into jinrikishas. They would doubtless have felt themselves considerably at a loss as to how to proceed, had it not been for the cooperation of one from their own country, who had preceded them by some years. Dr. Willis N. Whitney took them into his home in Azabu, a ward of Tokyo, and later introduced them to Sen Tsuda,⁽¹⁾ with whom they lived, and made a temporary center for their work. A piece of land was soon procured however, in the ward of Shiba, on high ground in the southern part of the city, looking out over Tokyo Bay on the east, and with a fine view of Mt. Fuji on the west. There the Girls School was built in 1887, and a meeting house in 1890. The Cosands meanwhile had been joined by other friends, William V. and Isabel Wright, sent by the Mission Board of Canada Yearly Meeting. English Friends also had associated themselves with Dr. Whitney in Azabu, and the two groups consulted together about the prosecution of the work in Shiba. As mentioned before, it was a period of eager assimilation of European culture, and we may imagine the compound buzzing

⁽¹⁾ To the modern reader, Sen Tsuda is best known through his daughter, Ume Tsuda.

with activity. Young men came in considerable numbers to learn English, and to inquire about Western ways and the Western religion. They were from good families for the most part,—modern people, students and officials. Their sisters came to learn knitting and English. The school girls, although still few in number, were made part of the family life of the compound. Those who attended the meetings on Sunday, organized and called themselves the "Shiba Friends Church". They began to look for avenues to carry the message into other centers. A school for training Christian workers was established in 1890, and although it was not long-lived, yet at one time in these early days, it enrolled as many as 25 students. One of them, C. Suzuki, is still active in Friends' work. Another was Chuzo Kaifu who continued to serve with Friends through a long life, which ended two years ago.

But it was not granted Friends to attain Christian stature with such ease. A day of testing came. In 1894 the Sino-Japanese War broke out, accompanied as always by strong national feeling, and much civilian activity in the expression of that feeling. Hot arguments arose among the young people who had been gathering in the Shiba Meeting House, and at last they began to use their organization there as an agent for supporting the war effort. This presented a grave problem to the mission personnel. After milder means had been tried without success, they decided they could no longer cooperate, and withdrew all support, and the group scattered. Thus came to an end the first period of Quakerism in Japan (1885-1894). It is not surprising that the little group was not yet ready for the severe testing that came. The advent of war has led to similar rending asunder of the Christian body in other lands, and at other times. But perhaps also its growth had been too mushroom-like. The oak tree grows slowly, but its fiber is strong to resist the winds that blow upon it. By this time the eager acquisition of Western learning had in great degree subsided, and all gains must now be made through

patient work. Men do not enter the Kingdom of Heaven except through much tribulation.

Joseph Cosand and his wife stayed on in Japan until the end of the century. They and the other missionaries and the Japanese Friends who remained with the work had to make a new beginning, and with the difficult experience they had just been through in mind, a more centralized organization was effected. Matters were now decided in a central committee of responsible people made up of both Japanese and American workers, rather than in the open meetings as previously. During this time four meetings were recognized,—that in Shiba, Tokyo (The local name is Saints Hill,⁽¹⁾ and the Tokyo meeting is still known as Saints Hill Monthly Meeting); in Yokohama which was later given up; in Mito and in Tsuchiura, two country meetings to which we will now turn our thoughts.

Quakerism in Ibaraki Province

Northeast of Tokyo is a province largely devoted to agriculture, the name of which is Ibaraki. The meaning of the first of the two characters which make up the word is “thorn”, and one is reminded of Scotland’s thistle, with its “Nole Me Tangere”. Ibaraki people in somewhat the same way have been jealous of the entrance of influences from the outside. Mito is its capital city, and being on the trunk line of the railroad going north, is at present reached from Tokyo in two or three hours. But in the days of which we are thinking, the railroad had not yet been built, and one had to take a tiring journey of two or three days by boat and jinrikisha to get there. It was through pleasant country however. The two-peaked mountain of Tsukuba⁽²⁾ rose from the low plain around it, and was visible for a large part of the journey. Little thatch-roofed homes nestled in among the trees, and looked almost like islands, surrounded by a broad expanse of rice

⁽¹⁾ Hijirizaka.

⁽²⁾ cf. Cover.

fields, where men and women worked bent over, protected from the sun by their umbrella-shaped straw hats. The intervals of woodland were probably more frequent then than they are now. Occasional tea-houses along the way gave opportunity for refreshment to both jinrikisha man and rider. But having arrived at Mito, one was not at all sure of a welcome. The Jesuit movement had come to Ibaraki also, and the traditions that followed it meant sometimes a shower of stones for the intruding foreigner.

Mito was not just one of many towns in Japan. It had had a very special history and a very special character of its own. It had been the seat of one of the most powerful feudal lords or "daimyo", and parts of their castle still remain surrounded by a deep moat. They were a branch of the Tokugawa family, and at times when there was no direct heir in the shogunate branch of that family, a scion of the Mito family might be grafted into it. Moreover the Mito Tokugawas had been rather remarkable men, cultivating Confucian learning in their lands, and endowing an institute which wrote a many-volumed and authoritative history of Japan. At the time of Perry's arrival, the Lord of Mito was very active in opposing the signing of treaties with foreign powers, and fortified the coastline of his own domain to be ready for possible invasion. It was the thought of this Mito school which more than any other, was responsible for the final restoration of the Emperor to power in 1868.

George Braithwaite, an English Friend from the Azabu group made the trip to this province in 1889. The glories of the feudal period had passed by that time, and the best blood of the surrounding country had been spilled in the civil war that accompanied the Restoration. But the pride in its past remained, and has made Mito people conservative in religion as well as politics.

A Friend named Kansan Yoshioka had been there since the previous year and it was his influence that secured an invi-

tation to George Braithwaite soon after his arrival, to visit a village about twelve miles from Mito. Some fifty people gathered to hear him and Yoshioka San. They began their meeting at eleven in the morning and continued until midnight, without food, the speakers spelling each other. That is one of the early memories of the Mito work.

The committee in Tokyo felt that a certain standard of intellectual attainment was necessary for anyone trying to work in Mito, with its scholarly traditions, and finally chose Manji Kato who went there in 1894, and continued there as one of the main workers, until his death in 1932. His figure, with benign face and long white beard, was a well known one in the streets of Mito. He was much interested in work for peace, and published a little periodical, called "Peace".⁽¹⁾

Gurney and Elizabeth Binford from the Mission Committee joined the Mito staff in 1899 and the work went on actively. One of the early members was Mika Katogi, a bank president, who interpreted for Gurney Binford, and did much to break down the prejudice to the new-old teaching. His spirit has come down to modern days through his daughter and her husband, Seiju Hirakawa. Others came and added their strength to the work. Edith F. Sharpless, Senjiro and Yasuno Kameyama, Herbert and Madeline Nicholson,—the names of all are linked to the Meeting here. These people were not simply preaching the Gospel. They tried to include all the normal interests of life. There have been cooking classes, English classes, an old people's home, a kindergarten, two student dormitories, a night school, groups of women for relief sewing, and many other forms of activity, as well as Bible classes and meetings for worship. A brick meeting house was built in 1912, and the Monthly Meeting was recognized in 1917. The group has always been a small one, but Christian character has come out of it. Mito Meeting as well as other country meetings, has

(1) "Heiwa".



QUARTERLY MEETING IN MITO

fed the meeting in Tokyo, as many of its young people moved to the capital.

Work was started at other centers within the province,—in 1891 at Tsuchiura, a prosperous town between Mito and Tokyo; in 1899 at Ishioka; in 1902 at Minato, on the seacoast; in 1906 at Shimodate; in 1909 at Takahagi; and in 1922 at Shimotsuma. In this list as given above, only those groups which attained the status of Monthly Meetings are included. Openings generally came through some personal or chance connection, which gave foothold in new territory. Perhaps someone's friend lived there and opened his home for an evening meeting, to learn more of the new teaching which had come from abroad, and there were some among those who listened who desired to know more particularly, and so an invitation to come and start work there would be received. Or perhaps

business would take a family from one town to another, and the new faith would go with them. Minato was a hotbed for such publishers of the truth. A printer, named Tokuzo Osaki moved from there to Takahagi, and opened his house for gatherings of children and adults. When for some reason it became inconvenient to use the house, the children met outdoors, holding up umbrellas when climatic conditions made it necessary. That continued for four years, but finally in 1924 they succeeded in building a meeting house, and the next year were recognized as a Monthly Meeting. There has never been any resident worker there, but the proved integrity and Christian grace of the printer has made its way for the Word in the town.

One of the reasons for local acceptance of the Christian group in Tsuchiura was the fact that the town, being very low-lying was subject to floods. The meeting house has a second story, and has been able to harbor many flood refugees on several occasions. Mansaku Nakamura who has been in charge of the work in Tsuchiura for over thirty years, and his wife and daughters, did valiant service for refugees, feeding and clothing them for days at a time. Indeed his daughter gave her life to the work during an especially severe flood in 1938. Overwork at that time led to her early death. Two of the leading merchants of the town joined the meeting, and the confidence that their townsmen felt in them, did much to dispel prejudice. One of them, Tasuke Nomura, a wholesale sugar merchant, became the first clerk of the Yearly Meeting.

Getting a meeting house was a struggle for all the groups. In one locality outside Ishioka, the principal gift of money for that purpose came from a young man who had grown up in the Sunday School. From the time when he decided to join the Christian group, he stopped smoking and also eating between meals, depositing an equivalent amount of money in the postals savings. From this fund, he made a contribution which made a little building possible.



SHIMOTSUMA KINDERGARTEN

Kindergartens have given a start to the work in other places. In Ishioka, which was a very conservative center and absorbed in the manufacture of soy sauce and saké, the work was uphill for a long time. But the opening of a center where their little children were lovingly and intelligently cared for, proved a sesame to the townspeople's hearts. Chiyomatsu Suzuki who carries on the work at Ishioka, has been with Friends practically from the beginning of their history in Japan. His wife, Katsu Suzuki, also gave devoted service until her death.

The meetings were grouped into Quarters, depending on their location relative to Mt. Tsukuba. Its form is the dominant feature on the eastern horizon of Shimodate and Shimotsuma, which are therefore known as the Western Quarter. They are off the main line of the railroad, and are centers of an agricultural district. Juen Ouchi and his wife gave long

years of service to the meeting at Shimodate, and both died while in active work some three or four years ago.

Gurney and Elizabeth Binford came to Shimotsuma to live in 1922. There were connections in the town which they had formed in Mito many years before, and no other Christian work was being done in that vicinity, at the time. Young farmers came into the meetings from the surrounding country; shopkeepers took time off from their counters; children gathered in Sunday Schools and kindergarten; mothers gladly listened to modern theories of child training, and a real Christian fellowship was formed, which was singularly like a family group. They are still worshipping there in their little thatched-roofed meeting house, of a Sunday morning, sitting in a circle on the straw mats on the floor. Saburo Kakuya whose Christian life began in their midst, and who felt the call to work among them, graduated from his Christian training school just as the war began, and was soon thereafter called to the army. So the group has had to carry on with little trained leadership.

Work in Rural Communities

From the beginning Friends felt an interest in the farming villages which hold such a large proportion of the inhabitants of Ibaraki Province. In the very early days in Mito, Manji Kato tried experiments with tomato and strawberry plants, hoping thereby to increase the farmers' resources. From all the established meetings, trips were made into the surrounding villages to take the message to them. One could always begin with the children, who were eager listeners. From them it was not hard to move to the adults in whose lives in those early days there was little that could be called recreation. With a set of stereopticon views one could call together most of the village. Gradually the work came to be done on a larger scale. Beginning with 1914 a large tent was carried to some country district, and set up in a vacant lot loaned by some of the villagers. With a portable organ, hymns

were taught to the people who gathered. A very simple exposition of the Gospel was made. With faces tanned and wrinkled by exposure to all weathers, and backs bent by long hours of work in the fields, these men and women had now come into a very different realm of thought, and were struggling to understand it. The method was one of sowing seed broadcast. Some little of it would return to the sower, but there was slight opportunity for following up the work thus begun. A better way was found as the result of a concern felt by Ryuhei Kikuchi for the rural community in which he had grown up. As principal of its primary school, he knew its life intimately, and was depressed by its meagerness. He had known Gurney Binford during his Normal School days in Mito, and now sought him out in Shimotsuma. The two cooperated in forming what were known as "New Life Societies". Their aim was to train and inspire young men who could go back to their own villages and work there for a more abundant life in the agricultural,



A FARMER'S INSTITUTE

economic, social, and spiritual fields. They held ten-day conferences, in the farmers' off-seasons, in different centers, wherever they could find an opening. They chose a limited number of young men to train intensively. Agricultural specialists and experts in coöperative buying and selling were called to come and talk to them. While they tried to regulate community life during those ten days as nearly as possible on Christian lines they did not begin with a religious appeal. But before the conference was over the young men themselves would realize that back of all the new methods, there must be a basic insight into a higher spiritual Power, which they glimpsed, but could not clearly see. This opened the way for definite teaching. After the conference was over, most of its young men desired to continue as members of a permanent organization. They met at regular times and Ryuhei Kikuchi circulated around among the different branches, interesting himself in their personal and local problems. An annual meeting when all the branches met together, was held for exchange of experiences, and for fresh inspiration. This work of course has to a great degree been interrupted by the war, but the "new life" has had a real leavening power in more than one community. Kikuchi San often consulted with Toyohiko Kagawa in this work, and sent some of his choicest young men to attend Kagawa San's short term institutes.

Itinerant Friends

As in the early days of Quakerism, there have been itinerant Friends in Japan, but their pattern is Japanese rather than Occidental. I am thinking of Ikichi Ishizuka, a Friend in his eighties now, (if he is still living) who has spent most of his life on the road. At first it was Bibles that filled the heavy pack on his back, or the cart which he pulled after him, and found buyers in all parts of the empire. But as he grew older, he came to have a more specialized concern for spreading the Word. He wanted to be able to write so skillfully that men of taste would buy his Bible texts for the sake of the writing,

even if they had no interest in the Bible itself. Calligraphy is a fine art in Japan, and two or three Chinese characters, written large by some well-known hand with brush and India ink, are often the sole decoration of a room. With this idea he spent long hours day and night practicing at his desk. His magnum opus is the entire Bible written on a scroll about six feet long and two and a half feet wide, which can be hung up on the wall. A magnifying glass is necessary to decipher it. He has refused offers of thousands of yen for it, because he could not bear to part with it, but this last year, owing to the exigencies of old age and wartime, he at last sold it.

Then there is Unpei Tozuka, a Friend who started the itinerating habit when, as a young man, he worked on the Imperial Railroads. Now an old man, but full of youthful zeal, he continues on the road. With friends in every town, he leads a busy life, visiting and bringing them cheer, and building them up in the faith. His specialty is lepers, and truly there are none who need the consolation that he can bring them more than they do. Another Friend is an agent of a drug manufacturing company and as he goes about the country, dispenses medicine for the spirit of man as well as for his body.

EDUCATIONAL PERIOD

Later Developments in Tokyo Quakerism

Our excursion into Ibaraki Province has taken some time, and we must now return to the capital. The period of rapid expansion, of easy gains, was over, and progress came now only through patient effort. The years from 1900 to 1917 when the Yearly Meeting was finally set up were years of emphasis on stabilizing work at its center, more than in reaching out into new fields. Perhaps the break up at the time of the Sino-Japanese War had taught its lesson. Change in personnel too may have had its influence. Gilbert and Minnie Bowles had now come to fill the places left vacant by the withdrawal of the Cosands. The years that followed might be called an educational period. The meetings of the Executive Committee were times of thorough and free discussion, where everyone expressed his opinion, and received a thoughtful hearing. Laymen as well as the recognized workers were appointed to represent their meetings in this committee. Perhaps more than any other one influence these meetings were the occasion for seeing how Quakerism works, and for the development of the Quaker type of character.

Besides these business meetings, summer conferences were held regularly, sometimes at Minato on the seashore, sometimes at the foot of Mt. Tsukuba, where Friends worshipped together, held Bible study courses, and listened to inspirational addresses. Women Friends also frequently held similar conferences for themselves at different times, as it was hard for them and their husbands to be away from home together. The sense of fellowship was strong at such times. Much emphasis was put on work for young men. Horace E. and Elizabeth Coleman opened their home to them and summer camps were regularly held. After the Coleman's retirement, Thomas E. and Esther B. Jones continued this work.

Japan Yearly Meeting was finally set up in 1917. Its formation had been urged by the Mission Committee as a symbol of independence from any authority emanating from abroad. Japanese Friends were now to take the weight on their own shoulders. Financial support from abroad too was to be considered subsidiary to self-support, and was to be on a decreasing scale. This critical moment in the history of a "mission-propagated" Quaker group is one that Quaker embassies in Europe have perhaps escaped to great degree. That Japanese Friends weathered the danger with a growing sense of common purpose and harmony between the two national groups, speaks well for the forbearance and patience of both sides.

For the first few years after the establishment of Yearly Meeting, in pursuance of the independence aim, no missionaries were appointed to committees, but gradually the need of more coöperation was felt, and the pendulum swung back to a more normal relationship. At last in 1923 the great earthquake made all work together to relieve the suffering of that time, without any consciousness of difference in nationality. This matter will be treated later under the head of Quaker Service.

In 1925 Seiju Hirakawa became clerk of the Yearly Meeting, and two years later in answer to a felt need, he resigned his principalship of the Friends Girls School, and was appointed to the position of General Secretary of the Yearly Meeting. From then on he gave the greater part of his time to the coördination of work within the Society, and when opportunity offered, to the furtherance of its leavening power in the outside world.

Hirakawa San's first contact with Friends in Mito has already been mentioned. He came into Quakerism from a Buddhist background, and had been accustomed to the practice of silent meditation in the Zen manner before he joined

Friends.⁽¹⁾ But he himself feels that although the outward form has certain similarities to a Friends meeting for worship, the meaning of the whole process is so different that it can hardly be considered a stepping stone to the silent worship of Friends. He had come during his years at the school to feel a real concern for the Yearly Meeting, and it was through it that he felt he could give his best service. The years that followed his appointment as secretary, were a time of real progress in the functioning of that body. Its life ran more and more through distinctively Quaker channels.

Before then however, there had been an earnest and increasing desire to know what Quakerism was. In 1924 special gatherings were held in all the Meetings in commemoration of the Tercentenary of George Fox's birth. A visit to Japan by Rufus M. Jones in 1926 was utilized for a four-day conference, and Friends from all parts gathered in Tokyo. Some of them knew his books already, and were eager for this opportunity to meet him and hear his interpretation from his own lips. Four years later, Takeo Iwahashi, a member of London Yearly Meeting, living in Osaka, came north and spoke to Friends in their local meetings, on Quakerism. The fact that he had been denied the outer, physical light made all the more impressive his emphasis on the Inner Light. Japan Yearly Meeting sent representatives to the two World Conferences of Friends that were held in London, England, in 1920, and at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, U. S. A., in 1937.

The adoption of a Statement of Faith in 1928 may not sound like a distinctively Quaker step, but when the circumstances are considered, it should be granted that there was more reason for defining their position in the face of the vague conceptions commonly held of Christianity, and the almost absolute ignorance in regard to Quakerism, than there would be in some other quarters. It was drawn up by a committee

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 10 for Zen and Quaker resemblances and differences.



THE COMMITTEE THAT FORMULATED THE STATEMENT OF FAITH

of the Yearly Meeting, after long and prayerful thought. An entirely unofficial translation of its five clauses follows:—

1. We believe that God is our Father, and that his Spirit is within us.
2. We believe that the spiritual nature of man is of infinite and absolute value, and we look for its highest realization in the experiences of daily life.
3. We acknowledge our tendency to fall into evil, but we believe that through sincere repentance, we may obtain saving purification and new life.
4. By the coming together of personalities so purified by faith, we confidently expect the establishment of the Kingdom of God.
5. Relying upon our Lord Jesus Christ, the teachings of the Holy Bible, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, we believe this faith may be realized.

Quaker Literature in Japan

The monthly publication of "The Japanese Friend",⁽¹⁾ an eight-page periodical, began in 1906, and through the succeeding years has helped to give solidarity and an understanding of Quakerism to the groups. The publication of other Quaker literature has perhaps not had the emphasis it should have had. Just at the beginning, the lives of George Fox, Elizabeth Fry, Stephen Grellet, and William Penn had been translated into Japanese. Daniel Wheeler and John Woolman came later, but all were done under mission auspices, and perhaps it was too early. The foundations which made possible a true evaluation, were not yet well established. Later Rufus Jones' tercentenary "Life and Message of George Fox" was translated and published by "The Japanese Friend". Two other manuscripts have been prepared,—one a translation of George Fox's Journal (abridged), and one a historical account of Mysticism and Quakerism, but wartime rationing of paper, and censorship have not permitted their publication. Following the example, set by London Yearly Meeting with its "Swarthmore Lecture", and by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting with its "William Penn Lecture", Japan Yearly Meeting has of late years established an "Inazo Nitobe Memorial Lectureship". It is the intention of the committee to publish these lectures in book form at a more convenient season. We must look to a later generation, however, for a distinctively Japanese interpretation of Quaker thought.

The Friends Girls' School

Our story really began with the Girls' School, but after seeing it built on Saints Hill in 1887, we turned from it to other matters. We must now take up again the thread of its development. Since that beginning more than fifty years ago, it has been sending out its young women into society, in gradually increasing numbers. At present these amount to about one

⁽¹⁾ "Tomo", i.e. "The Friend", since 1921. Before that "Ai no Tomo", meaning the "Friend of Love".



BUILDINGS OF FRIENDS GIRLS' SCHOOL

hundred every year, each one going out equipped with the regular five years' course of High School education, given by concerned and well trained teachers; a knowledge of English considerably above that given by the government schools; practice in governing themselves through a self-government association;⁽¹⁾ and health of body and mind, gained from properly directed sports and exercises. But they have more than this. The windows of the spirit world have been at least partly opened for them by weekly, systematic study of the Bible. Some attempts at applying its truths to the problems of life have been made. Something of the joy of fellowship on Christian lines, therein set forth, has been experienced. Beyond that some of them have come into direct contact with the Father

(1) It was Edith Newlin, a teacher in the Friends Girls School from 1918 to 1927 who first realized the importance of the principle of self-government for Japanese girls, and who, with the coöperation of Japanese teachers and pupils, worked out the details of the present system.

of their spirits, in a way that will go through life with them. They go out, some to enter higher schools, some to prepare for married life, to business positions and to school rooms. Many of them become parts of the organized Christian movement. Some have served loyally in the Friends meetings, and become integral parts of them. But whether they do make such connections or not there is a serious purpose among most of them to live worthily of the light received.

During its fifty years the school has had three principals:—Chuzo Kaifu, 1887-1912; Seiju Hirakawa, 1912-1927; and Toki Tomiyama who is still in office. It is one of the few “mission-schools”, so-called, which has never had a foreign principal. There has been great harmony between the Japanese and the Americans working together for the school. Whether it was in the time of Chuzo Kaifu when Mary Ann Gundry and Minnie Pickett and Sarah Ellis and others were associated, or in the time of Seiju Hirakawa when Alice Lewis was teaching there, or of late when Esther B. Rhoads worked with Toki Tomiyama, there has always been a spirit of coöperation. Indeed one of the glories of the school is that, in this way, it has been a kind of international experiment, and has born international fruit in the plastic hearts of the young people who attend it. Toki Tomiyama was one of its graduates, and later attended a Quaker School in America. She has had other opportunities to travel and to observe Quaker education in the West. Surely now if ever she has need of all the wisdom that comes to heart and mind, for she holds the principalship at a very difficult time.

The school received government recognition in 1912, so that its graduates have the privilege of going up to higher schools. It is well thought of by the public and has loyal patrons and teachers. Dr. Nitobe lent his name to it as chairman of its Supporters Association, while he was living. It was during this time that the Princess Chichibu who had herself once been a pupil at the Friends School in Washington, visited the school, a red-letter day for all connected with it. Setsuzo Sawada is now chairman of the Board of Trustees.

QUAKER SERVICE AND WORK FOR PEACE

Quaker Service

Friends have ever been mindful of suffering bodies, as well as darkened souls, and have labored to bring relief to both. In Japan so many sudden catastrophes occur. A bit of thoughtlessness in the manipulation of the charcoal fire, and a high wind, may wipe out half a town in a few hours. And one never knows where the tremors of earthquakes that are of such frequent occurrence will end. Under such circumstances the habit of sharing is well developed. Bureau drawers are made to disgorge out-grown clothes; an accumulation of tea pots comes out of the corners of closets; a cup full of rice from the family supply, combined with those of the neighbors' makes a filling meal for people who have just lost everything. Already we have spoken of relief to flood sufferers. In some degree relief has been administered to victims of such natural catastrophes by all the Friends' groups, as occasion has demanded.

Friends have done yeoman's service too in the cause of temperance. From the very beginning Temperance Societies were formed in all the localities where Friends were working, and great earnestness for the cause was displayed. Friends co-operated too with the national Temperance Society and the W.C.T.U. One result was a village not far from Tsuchiura whose village organization absolutely banned the use of saké, and kept it up for years. Many personal efforts to help friends escape from the habit were also made.

One member of the Mito Meeting tells of walking to his home outside the city, after dark at night, when only a young boy, and soon after he had joined the Meeting. On the way he saw a man intoxicated, lying in the ditch by the side of the road. He trembled with what seemed to him the enormity of his responsibility under these circumstances. At first he started to walk on and leave the man there, but he heard a

voice say to him very clearly, "If your Christian faith has any meaning, you will go back and help him". He did, and the incident stays in his memory as one of the turning points in his spiritual life.

But some moments are too tremendous to be handled by any small group, and one of them was the noon hour on September 1st, 1923, when the great Tokyo earthquake occurred. This is not the place to go into detail on the sufferings, or the activities to relieve them, in the days that followed. But Friends did rise to the emergency, and gave organized and effective relief. They began almost immediately giving personal help to their own members, but when money was cabled them from the American Friends Service Committee, they set to work in earnest on a larger scale. A Service Committee⁽¹⁾ was formed on September 10.

This committee weighed the possibilities carefully, and eventually received permission from the city to build 28 small dwelling houses and an assembly hall, in one corner of a city park. These houses were rented to families who had lost their homes, and a democratic organization was effected. Meetings for entertainment and uplift were held in the assembly hall. Two years later they were moved further out of the city, and set up again in a group that was called "Friends Village". Gradually the householders bought their homes and the group was liquidated.

Another project was for more distressed people in one of the slum sections of the city. Here barracks were erected and food and clothing distributed. A program of music, movies, talks on hygiene, a medical clinic, Christian talks and hymn singing, attempted to minister to the whole man. This was carried on for four years after the earthquake.

(1) Its members were Tetsuro Sawano, Setsuzo Sawada, Thomas E. Jones, Alice G. Lewis, Esther B. Rhoads, Tatsunosuke Ueda, Seiju Hirakawa, Minoru Maeda, and Mansaku Nakamura.

In addition to the assistance given at the time of the earthquake the A.F.S.C. sent Hugh and Elizabeth Borton to Japan for a three years' period, to work with the mission and to give especial attention to Japan-American relations.

Work for Peace

As early as the autumn of 1889 a Japan Peace Society had been formed, Akasaka Friends taking the initiative. Its purpose was to study the problems of war and peace. A little later the magazine "Peace" was issued, under the editorship of Manji Kato. But this beginning was cut short by government order, at the time of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, as was also another beginning made in Yokohama, just at the eve of the war. Both of these attempts were made not by organized Friends Meetings, but by individual Friends. Non-Friends were admitted, and the activities of these societies, however short their duration, represent the beginning of the Christian Peace Movement in Japan. By the time of the Russo-Japan War in 1904, although there was no organization, the pacifist position was widely recognized, and many prominent people were associated with it. Among them was Kanzo Uchimura, with whom our story began. Friends seem to have lost their lead to some extent, during this time.

An interest in the movement had reached many public spirited men, outside of the Christian church, and was fanned by Gilbert Bowles. He was assisted by a young man, named Setzuzo Sawada,⁽¹⁾ who later became prominent in the diplomatic world. As a result of their efforts an organization called the Japan Peace Society was again formed in 1906. At first its leadership was prevailingly Christian, but later under the presidency of Count (later Marquis) Okuma, its scope and influence became broader. Anti-Japanese agitation on the Pacific coast made their work difficult, and after a quarter of

⁽¹⁾ Cf. also last paragraph of section entitled Friends Girls School, p. 29.

a century of effective service, war, this time in Manchuria (1931), again nipped the promising bud. The two Christian organizations,—World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches and the Fellowship of Reconciliation were hardier plants, with which Japanese Friends continued to coöperate. Seiju Hirakawa served as secretary of the latter for a long period of years.

The Yearly Meeting had from the beginning a Peace Committee, and it was by its recommendation that representatives were appointed to the London All-Friends Conference of 1920. They brought back a report that very much stirred up enthusiasm for peace in the Yearly Meeting, when it was made at its 1921 sessions. A minute was adopted, giving expression to their renewed sense of loyalty to the cause. In 1924 when feeling was very strong about the Immigration Law which the American government had enacted, the Yearly Meeting Peace Committee issued a declaration, challenging the attention of the Home and Foreign Ministers of the government. Again in 1931 after the beginning of the Manchurian Incident, Friends coöperated with other Christian sects of peace principles, in the following declaration to the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet: "We deeply deplore the international strife with our neighbor, China. Desirous of attaining lasting peace, based on the broad way of love for humanity, not only between our two countries, but among all the nations of the world, we confidently look to you for efforts to that end."

On several occasions Peace Retreats were planned by the Standing Committee of the Yearly Meeting, when for two or three days, those especially interested, would withdraw to some place where they could be uninterrupted, and there discuss quietly the implications of peace and war. It was mental and spiritual gymnastics such as this that helped to produce the internationalism of such men as Seiju Hirakawa and Yasukuni Suzuki, head resident of the young men's dormitory in Tokyo. Opportunities for its expression come to them often in per-

sonal relations with Chinese and Korean students in the capital; in service rendered to European Jews who drifted to Japan without any economical support for the present, or hope for the future; and in propagating the spirit of internationalism among the students of the universities in Tokyo. A trip to Shanghai after 1932 helped Suzuki San further to realize the true results of war and an imperialistic policy.

Friendly personal relationships between the nationals of the two countries may be of more significance than any number of declarations made by organizations. One example was the visit of S. H. Fong of West China Yearly Meeting, to Japan. He was on his way home after a year or two spent in England, and was urged to see Japan. He was very much averse to doing so, having received most unfavorable impressions of Japanese character. With the feeling of taking his life in his hands, he finally introduced himself to Japanese Friends. Some of their leading spirits spent two or three days with him in intimate and frank exchange of views, and in worship together, in a quiet hotel on the seashore of Ibaraki Province. He was entirely disarmed in the course of it, and the whole group entered into deep fellowship together. One Friend remarked that to see Mr. Fong wearing a Japanese kimono about the hotel, had given her quite a new feeling for China, and before he left, he bought Japanese trinkets to take home to his family, although he had previously advocated the boycott against Japanese goods. Later his home in Chengtu was destroyed in a Japanese air-raid. When the news of it came to Hijirizaka Meeting, a collection was made, and a gift of money was sent through safe hands, as a mark of penitential brotherhood.

Other visits back and forth have been made in the interests of mutual understanding. Gilbert Bowles, Mansaku Nakamura and Seiju Hirakawa were such emissaries, at one time going as far as West China. Letters of Christian good will

were exchanged between the two Yearly Meetings, even after feelings in both countries were running high.

One very good place to see the peace movement in Japan in its practical workings, was at the Bowles' dinner table, at which Minnie P. Bowles presided with her inexhaustible spirit of hospitality. Gilbert Bowles at the other end of the table, would be directing the conversation into channels that made all the guests assembled there from many quarters, feel at home and enlightened.

Westerners often ask about the conscientious objector movement in Japan. If there is such a movement, it is not allowed to become public. It will not become a widespread movement, I think, because Japanese ways of thinking are different from those of the West in so many respects. In the first place they have been taught in the feudal days of the past, as well as in imperialistic times in the present, the duty of absolute obedience on the part of the subject to his overlord. Because the whole is more important than any of its parts, there is nothing to do but to sacrifice the individual judgment, even at such times as it repudiates the demands made on it by that whole. In such cases they feel that this is not sin for them, because it has been taken out of their hands and is therefore no longer their moral responsibility.

Then again the family organization is so much stronger with them than with Anglo-Saxon people. A family conclave, including parents and uncles, is held to determine the young man's future steps in life. Of course he has a chance to express his own desires, but he certainly does not have the freedom to choose his own way that the young men of the West have. Besides, the consequences of his deeds come back not only to himself, but to his whole family. The conscientious objector stand comes out of a more individualistic society than obtains in Japan, I believe.

Quaker Strains from Other Sources

Lest it be thought that Japanese Quakerism is one of which the Philadelphia Mission was the sole purveyor, an account should be given without more delay, of the many contributions that have been made from other sources, and which have helped to preserve its cosmopolitan quality.

From the very beginning there was Dr. Whitney whose name has already been mentioned. He was the first American student at the medical school of the Tokyo University, and after he had taken his degree, he founded a hospital in Akasaka Ward of Tokyo, neighboring Shiba. That was in 1886. Dr. Henry Hartshorne was another who came to Japan on a professional medical errand, but who gave concerned counsel to the little group of Friends in its beginning days. His daughter, Anna C. Hartshorne, remained its friend through her long years of educational service in Tokyo. Meanwhile George Braithwaite had come from England, and Dr. Whitney had married his sister, Mary, and brought her to Japan. Thus a new center of Friends was formed. A little gathering of very zealous believers grew up around the hospital. At first they did not call themselves Friends, but as time went on the need for some connection with a Christian group was felt, and gradually its members and those at Hijirizaka came to know each other. Individuals from the older group took responsibilities from time to time for the Akasaka group, and finally in 1939, after much conference on the subject, the Akasaka Meeting was recognized as a Monthly Meeting of the Japan Yearly Meeting,—the ninth and last to be set up. Teiko Kudo a very earnest and consecrated woman, ministers to it.

The group of English Friends was represented in the Mission Committee by the son of George and Lettice Braithwaite, G. Burnham Braithwaite, and his wife, Edith Lamb Braithwaite. Burnham's knowledge of the language, learned as a child learns it, was of great value to the work. Canadian

Friends have also served on the Mission Committee, and their Board has shared in the financial as well as the spiritual support of the work.

Among the Japanese Friends are some who have had broad international experience, and who have brought back to the little Quaker group in their own country some of the air of that bigger world. Foremost among these was Dr. Inazo Nitobe, a member of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, which he joined when a student at Johns Hopkins University. His marriage to a member of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting made the tie with America stronger. Later, seven years in the Secretariat of the League of Nations, taking an active and highly valued part in the solving of world problems, confirmed his international viewpoint. At such times as he could be in Japan, he was in demand on all sides and led an almost unbelievably busy life. Friends will therefore never forget the occasions when he took time for them,—attending and addressing their Yearly Meetings, conducting a conference group one winter on Sunday mornings for the members of Hijirizaka Meeting, or occasionally dropping in unannounced to their meetings for worship. His weightiness, his simplicity, his lovable qualities, left a deep impress on all he met. Portions of his view of Quakerism are appended to this account.

Then there is Iwao Ayusawa, a one-time student of Haverford College, whose years in America were followed by a long residence in Geneva, and work in connection with the International Labour Office. His Quaker home in America, together with friendship with Dr. Nitobe, and connection with the Friends' group in Geneva, were the formative influences in his Quaker faith. He joined Japan Yearly Meeting on his return, and has been a most concerned member. His work as executive secretary of the World Economic Research Institute in Tokyo, still takes him into international fields. Like so many people in the West of late, he has been especially interested in encouraging the study of post war economic organization.

Takeo Iwahashi and his wife came to us from London Yearly Meeting, joined during years of study in Edinburgh. Pendle Hill, a school near Philadelphia, has done great service for Japanese students, who have come back to their country to share the catholicity of view, and the sense of responsibility for service, acquired there. Among these are Kikue Kurama, Ryumei Yamano, Masa Uraguchi, and Tane Takahashi.

CHURCH UNION AND AFTER

In 1936 Japan Yearly Meeting celebrated the Fiftieth Anniversary of Quaker work in Japan. Fraternal delegates came from Philadelphia to share in the occasion, and it was a feast of good-will and hope. Whatever the subsequent developments, it was a bright spot in the memories of all concerned. But the international sky was already dark, and the storm broke the next year,—in north China. With war came a heightening of nationalistic feeling. What had begun as a struggle between China and Japan, soon became a whirlwind that drew the whole Pacific area into its vortex. To drive Western imperialism from the Orient was the Japanese slogan. There followed a time which was especially lacerating to the feelings of Japanese Christians, as well as to those of the West. Its connections with Western churches did Japanese Christianity no good in the eyes of the public. Missionaries found themselves in an embarrassing position, and by 1940 a large proportion of them had returned to their home countries. The year before that the Religious Organizations Bill passed the Diet, and became law. By it Christianity was recognized as one of the three religions of Japan, but it had to pay its price for recognition, which was,—union of all the denominations into one organization; severance of financial and other relations with missions from abroad; and an acceptance of a degree of government supervision. The union clause was not unpopular among many Japanese Christians. There had been a more or less well-developed agitation for it before that time anyhow.

It was harder however for some churches than for others. The Episcopal Church held out against it until the fall of 1943, and then yielded because continued existence as a separate entity had practical difficulties that seemed insuperable. If that were true for such a strong organization, we may believe there would have been no hope for the little group of Friends. But it was a wrench to give up its independent existence. It meant accepting the whole ecclesiastical program,—ordained ministers, sacraments, creeds, etc. At its last Yearly Meeting in 1941 the decision was made, however, and the Japan Yearly Meetings of Friends ceased to exist soon thereafter.

It is not true that the government of Japan has adopted an attitude of persecution toward Christianity. It has recognized the service to Japanese society that Christianity has made, and it desires its help in the present crisis. But it wants the kind of Christianity that it can manipulate and make useful in its own way. In this sense it is a time of grave danger to the "Church of Christ in Japan."

What is left of Japanese Quakerism? Let us recognize first of all that spiritual values exist in the hearts of men, not in organizations. To the extent that members of Friends have been able to carry over into the new organization, the spiritual values received from their Quaker faith, let us give thanks. They will not die. There is a type of character which is of more importance than any organization, and it will go echoing down the ages. It needs no denominational tag.

But there is a "remnant", a stock from which fresh growth may sprout when a more favorable time comes. Let us attempt an inventory of the more tangible results from Friends' fifty years in Japan. To begin with material assets,—the meeting houses of course go with the meeting members to the union church. Besides them there is in Tokyo a furnished residence, a dormitory for young men, and the well-appointed buildings of

the girls' school; in Mito some property on the main business street, and the buildings of an old peoples' home. These are all held by a Japanese Holding Company, and so are not subject to confiscation as enemy property. The girls' school and the old peoples' home are both carrying on outside the church, as far as organization is concerned. They have their own governing body of trustees. The men's dormitory in Tokyo was still functioning in September of 1943, but with the difficulties in provisioning, in getting help, and in the demands of the military on the young men, it may be necessary to close it down.

Last, but not least, there are two small groups left which may definitely be called Friends, both in Tokyo. The first of these is the Friends Center Committee. It was formed some years before the war began, to represent Friends to those of various countries who come to Japan with an interest in Quakerism, and to serve the Jewish refugees who were coming in large numbers to Japan at that time. Gilbert Bowles was a member of the committee as long as he was in Japan. Now its members are Seiju Hirakawa, Iwao Ayusawa, and Yasukuni Suzuki. This committee has charge of the dormitory; it arranges for the Inazo Nitobe Memorial Lectures and it gathers other Friends, individual members who did not go with their meetings into the union movement, for meetings for worship, or for the consideration of some topic of common interest, as opportunity arises. To these people the tenet of inward faith without the aid of outward form, seemed too precious to give up. They have an office in the dormitory, and a small Friends' library is also housed there. When communication with Japan becomes possible again, they will be instruments with whom Friends from outside can hope to make connections.

The other group of which we spoke is the group of Young Friends. They number perhaps ten or twelve. Many of them are second generation Christians, and quite a few have grown up with Friends. Four at least have had a year's study at

Pendle Hill, and all are trained to think. They are "convinced" Friends, whatever their forebears. They too felt that the Quaker heritage was too precious to be lost, and have continued to meet for worship and study and discussion. They and the Friends Center Committee plan to coöperate in holding meetings. The lives of these young Friends are before them, and perhaps we can not do better than leave the future of Quakerism in Japan with them, at this point, praying for them God's guidance and blessing.

APPENDIX I.

A Japanese View of Quakerism (abridged) by Dr. Inazo Nitobe

The starting point of Quaker teaching is the belief in the existence of the Inner Light. **** Whatever the name, it means the presence of a Power not our own, the indwelling of a Personality, other than human, in each one of us. Such a doctrine is **** as old as the oldest form of mysticism. Buddhism is full of references to it. **** The Zen Sect of Buddhism makes it its aim to comprehend it. ****

Let it be far from me to turn Quakerism into Oriental mysticism. Quakerism stays within the family of Christianity. **** Unlike Orientals, George Fox and his followers conceived **** of light as a person; but by making their person eternal and existent before the world was, Quakerism came to much the same conclusion as the old mystics.

Were these mystics misguided, building their houses on the sands of fantasy and clothing themselves in garments woven of cobwebs? **** Modern psychologists do not seem to deny that there can be a gradual development in consciousness. **** [self-consciousness] is a state of development not very difficult for us to attain, in fact every normal being attains it. But is there not a stage still higher, where we can merge ourselves in the great universe? **** Curiously enough the Cosmic sense as described by those who attain it, is very much the same everywhere—whether it be by a Buddhist priest, a Shinto votary, or an American farmer. ****

The central doctrine of Quakerism is the belief in this Cosmic sense, which they call the Inner Light. and all the doctrines and precepts of Quakerism are only corollaries drawn from this premise. ****

Is there then no superiority in the so-called revealed religion, by which is meant, I presume, the revelation of Godhead in the person and life of Jesus Christ? **** We read Laotze; we read Buddhist saints; we study Oriental mystics, **** we are brought very near to the idea of redemption, atonement, salvation. **** but we feel that we have not reached our finality. **** Yes, we see light, but not the one thing essential—perfect, living Personality.

APPENDIX II.

*From a paper read by T. Takemura at the Fiftieth Anniversary
Meeting of Friends in Japan. (translated)*

Silent worship is the expression of Quakers' attitude to life. Simplicity in the outward appearance of the meeting, which nevertheless produces on the communicants a deep sense of devoutness, is characteristic of the Quaker manner of life. Simplicity is no lack of aesthetic sense. In many cases of Quaker practice, simplicity is raised to the point of exquisite beauty,—the beauty of artless art. In this sense of beauty the early Quakers seemed to have much in common with Japanese. **** The beauty of the highest grade is found mostly in objects most simple. The "haiku" or "hokku", a sort of sonnet, regarded as the most refined literature in Japan, is the simplest and shortest of all the world's literary forms, comprising only 17 syllables. Again, the "sumie" is a picture of Chinese origin, painted in black only, and with the lightest touch of the brush. It ranks as the highest art. [He instances as further examples Friends' meeting-houses] with bare beams and plain white walls, and no decoration, but exquisitely beautiful.

APPENDIX III.

List of those who served in the Friends Foreign Mission in Japan, together with the dates of their service.

Joseph and Sarah Ann Cosand.....	1885-1900
William V. and Isabel Wright.....	1888-1891
Mary Ann Gundry	1889-1905
Mary M. Haines	1892-1895
Gurney, 1893-1936; and Elizabeth J. S. Binford.....	1899-1936
Minnie P., 1893-1941; and Gilbert Bowles.....	1901-1941
Edith Dillon	1896-1903
Sara Ellis	1902-1915
Sarah M. Longstreth	1903-1905
Inez E. Taber	1905-1910
Alice G. Lewis	1905-1924
Horace E. and Elizabeth Coleman.....	1907-1927
Mary H. Lewis	1908-1909
Edith F. Sharpless	1910-1943
Alice C. Gifford	1911-1920
Esther B. Rhoads	1917-1918 and 1921-1940
Esther B., 1914-1924; and Thomas E. Jones.....	1918-1924
Catherine Jones	1915-1916
Herbert V., 1915-1939; and Madeline W. Nicholson....	1920-1939
Edith Newlin	1918-1927
Margaret W. Rhoads	1921-1922
Rosamond H. Clark	1921-1923
G. Burnham and Edith L. Braithwaite.....	1922-1935
Margaret S. James	1922-1924
Violet Hawkins	1925-1932
Alice L. Dixon	1926-1929
Luanna J. Bowles	1927-1928
Hugh and Elizabeth W. Borton.....	1928-1931 and 1934-1936
Edna Miller	1929-1933
Sarah A. G. Smith.....	1933-1935
Helen Thomas	1936-1937

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